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SPEECH.

On motion by Mr. EVANS, the Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution reported from the Finance Committee, for the indefinite postponement of the bill introduced by Mr. McDUFFIE for the reduction of the rate of duties under the present tariff to the standard of the compromise act.

Mr. BENTON then spoke as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Our confederacy has existed above fifty years under our present form of government; and during every year of that time we have had tariff laws in operation, but with very different effect upon the public mind. During the first half of this time, there was universal satisfaction throughout the Union with these laws: during the second half of it, they have given great discontent to one half the Union. The period of satisfaction began with the beginning of the government, in the year 1789, and continued down to the end of the late war with Great Britain: the period of discontent began in the year 1816, and continues to the present day. A difference so great in its effect upon the public mind, implies a great difference in the character of these laws during the two periods, and naturally throws the mind back to the contemplation of this difference, and to the consideration of the causes which produced it.

The implication is not erroneous. The tariff laws of the two periods are, in fact, essentially different, and were framed with different views, and constitute opposite systems. The laws of the first period had revenue for their object, and the protection of home industry for their incident; the laws of the second period have protection for their object, and revenue for their incident. And the provisions of the acts under the two systems were framed accordingly: moderate duties, fairly assessed upon actual values and real quantities, characterized the legislation of the first period: high duties, fictitious valuations, and prohibitory minimums characterized the second.

The striking difference which we find in the legislation of the two periods is, *first*, in the amount of the duty imposed; and, *secondly*, in the mode of assessing or computing it. The amount of the duty is vastly increased during the second period, and the mode of its computation is arbitrarily arranged to increase that amount. Before the war, the duties, whether specific or ad valorem—whether on the quantity or on the value—were moderate in amount, and fairly assessed on the actual value, or actual quantity: since the war the duties have often been exorbitant in amount, and then made more exorbitant in the collection, by calculating them, in some instances, on the arbitrary assumption of a fictitious minimum valuation.

The cause of this difference in the character of our tariff laws is found in the fact mentioned by the senator from South Caroline, [Mr. McDUFFIE.] Politicians and capitalists have seized upon the subject, and worked it for their own purpose—the former for political advancement—the latter for pecuniary profit. The tariff has become a question of politics and money—of partisan politics and sectional enrichment; and the result has been to fill the Union with the agitation and discontent which has afflicted it for twenty-five years.

The harmony of this Union, Mr. President, is something! It is a great and desirable object, as pleasant to contemplate as it is useful to enjoy. Who is there among us old enough to remember it, who does not recollect the harmonious days, so far as the tariff was concerned, which we enjoyed during the first twenty-five years of our national existence, when nobody knew we had a tariff but those who read the statutes? Who is there old enough to remember it, who does not regret the loss of the times when the word tariff was never pronounced, and when, in respect to these laws, the mass of our population was in the happy condition of Moliere's country gentleman, who had talked prose all his life without knowing it? I, for one, remember these times, and wish to return to them. I with to return to the harmony and tranquillity, with respect to the tariff, which prevailed among us during the first half of our national existence; and, with that view, have been carefully studying the legislation of that period for the purpose of seeing what there was in it, if anything, to prevent our returning to it, and enjoying again the tranquillity which it then produced. I

have studied that legislation, and studied it in all candor, with this view; and I am free to say that I see no difficulty in returning, not to the letter, but to the object and structure of these good old laws, and drawing from them again the same happy consequence which they formerly shed upon the Union.

I take it for certain that the act now in force is not to stand; that either at the present session, or after another general election, it will be essentially changed. It was not passed as a permanent act. Several of those who voted for it, and without whose votes it could not have passed, declared at the time that they took it as a temporary measure—as a measure which they disliked—but which they accepted for the time from motives of expediency. (Here Mr. WRIGHT, to whom Mr. B. looked, nodded assent.) I voted against it, and with the full conviction that I should soon vote upon it again, and under better auspices. Whether the auspicious time for this voting has arrived, I do not undertake to decide. Certainly the auspices are not all in our favor. The session of Congress before the holding of a presidential election is not the favorable session for beneficial legislation. A President without a party, two parties without a President—the Senate one way, the House of Representatives another way; the President free trade, and the cabinet mixed:—these elements, taken all together, compose a very heterogeneous mixture, and present an aspect not at all favorable to the enactment of wholesome laws, or the application of healing remedies to the disorders of the State. I even doubt whether a cool discretion would recommend any attempt to settle the tariff question at this session. I speak of settle, in contradistinction to discuss. I look to the virtue of discussion—temperate, enlightened discussion—directed to the intelligence, and to the moral sense of the community; and, in that point of view, I am of opinion that the senator from South Carolina (Mr. MCDUFFIE) has done well to bring on the present debate: but discussion is one thing, and settling the question is another. I do not think that the present is the time to settle the question. Besides our discordant and heterogeneous condition, so unfavorable to harmonious action; besides the danger of miscarriage from this source, there is another tribunal which has jurisdiction of the subject, and is now occupied with it, and whose decision will be paramount to ours. The question itself is now on trial before the great areopagus of the people! and must have its solution from that tribunal before we meet again. The presidential election involves the fate of the tariff, and to that fate a future Congress will have to conform, be our action now what it may. Now, as in the year 1832, the fate of the high tariff is staked in the person of its eminent champion—its candidate for the presidency of the United States. That champion was defeated then, and his system with him; and he may be defeated again. If he shall be, we shall settle the question with more harmony and equity, and with a better chance for stability than at the present time: if not, all that we may do now, may need to be reversed. Seeing this, and that all we do now, if we do anything, must be imperfect and provisional, I very much doubt the policy of attempting to settle the tariff question at the present session. I am in favor of discussion, but doubt the practicability, at this time, of judicious and stable legislation. This is my opinion, but others think otherwise; and I yield to their wishes. Discordant as all the departments of the government now are, and on the eve, as we are, of a presidential election, I expect nothing perfect from our attempts at legislation on this subject. On the other hand, miscarriage and defeat, under such circumstances, will inspire me with no despair. I look forward to the next Congress to settle this question—to settle it according to the will of the people—and, accordingly, to settle it with some chance for that durability and permanency which is so essential to the successful prosecution of every branch of business.

The question is then presented: Shall we proceed to remodel the tariff act of 1842? I answer, yes!—saving to the House of Representatives its constitutional right over the initiation of revenue bills. I do not argue that question. I neither argue it, nor conceal my opinion upon it. I deem it sufficient, on the present occasion, to say that, in all cases of doubtful jurisdiction between the two Houses, my rule is to solve the doubt in favor of the House which, by the constitution, is charged with the general subject. Taxation and representation go together. The burdens of the people and the representation of the people are put together. The immediate and full representation of the people is in the House of Representatives, and to that House the constitution has confided the origination of all bills for raising revenue. Is the bill which is now before us a bill for raising revenue? I think it is. At all events it is a question of doubt; and in that case, I defer to the jurisdiction of the House which is charged with the general subject.

The proposition before us is, in terms, to restore the compromise act of 1833, but in substance to substitute revenue duties for protective duties. The author of the proposition [Mr. MCDUFFIE,] has spoken his sentiments upon its operation. From the tenor of all that he has said, I comprehend that he goes for revenue duties, without regard to their form—that he is not wedded to the horizontal line—the uniform ad valorem of 20 per centum upon all articles without regard to their character; but that he admits of discriminating duties, and of different rates of duty, according to the nature of the article.

[Mr. MCDUFFIE nodded assent.]

This being the case, I flatter myself that we shall be of accord with respect to the remedy as well as in regard to the evil. I was not in favor of the compromise act when it passed; I am not in favor of attempting to revive it. It presents an issue which is wrong in itself, and upon which we cannot go to trial—that of one uniform rate of duty upon all articles without regard to their nature or character. I am for discriminating between articles of luxury and necessity, and for making luxuries pay highest. I am for discriminating between articles made at home, and not made at home; and placing the highest revenue duty upon the foreign rivals of our own productions. In a word, I am for going back to our old legislation on this subject—to the system before the war; not to the precise terms of any one of the acts, but to the principles and structure, the objects and the incidents of the whole. They were all modelled upon the same plan. All took revenue for their object; all admitted incidental protection; all discriminated between luxuries and necessaries; and none of them admitted false assumptions of value by minimum valuations. They were all equally free from the abuse of minimum valuations on one hand, and the arbitrary levelling of the horizontal principle on the other. I am for returning to this system, with the single limitation that no duty, whether specific or ad valorem, shall exceed a maximum of 30, or 33½ per centum. In returning to this ground,

or rather in remaining upon it, (for it has always been my doctrine,) I find myself standing upon the ground of the first twenty-five years' action of our government, and sustained by the sanction of the the highest free trade authorities which the tariff discussions have brought to light. I allude to the South Carolina legislative report of December, 1828 —to the Philadelphia free trade convention address of 1831, and to the Virginia democratic convention address of 1839. Each of these high authorities, and at the recent dates mentioned, and in their extremest opposition to protective tariffs, admitted the principle and the policy of discriminating duties, and of incidental protection. Here is what each of them has said, and first of South Carolina. The report of her legislative committee, remonstrating against the tariff act of 1828, says:

"Every instance which has been cited, may be fairly referred to the legitimate power of Congress to impose duties on imports for revenue. It is a necessary *incident* of such duties to act as an encouragement to manufactures, whenever imposed on articles which may be manufactured in our own country. In this *incidental* manner, Congress has the power of encouraging manufactures; and the committee readily concede that, in the passage of an impost bill, they may, in *modifying* the details, so *arrange* the provisions of the bill, as far as it may be done consistently with its proper object, and to *aid* manufactures. To this extent Congress may constitutionally go, and has gone from the commencement of the government; which will fully explain the precedents cited from the early stages of its operation."*

The free trade convention says:

"They admit the power of Congress to lay and collect such duties as they may deem necessary for the purposes of revenue; and, within these limits, so to *arrange* these duties as, *incidentally*, and to that *extent*, to give *protection* to the manufacturer."†

The Virginia convention says:

"It may happen, if a wise policy prevails, that our manufacturing brethren of the North and West will be content with such *incidental protection* as will be afforded by duties laid to supply the constitutional wants of the government."‡

This is what was said by these eminent free-trade authorities on these recent occasions; and I shall not pretend to comment upon their admissions. They are explicit upon the grounds of discrimination and incidental protection. They quote, and admit by name, the system of our tariff legislation before the late war—that system under which the country was so long tranquil and happy, and to which I am now for returning. They admit, by name, discrimination for protection. The compromise act did the same in effect. The raising the duties on coarse woollens and common blankets, by that act, from 5 per cent to 50, to come down in nine years to 20, was for protection during that time. Home valuations and cash duties were to aid manufacturers. A long list of free articles, used by manufacturers, was for the same object. Protection was granted by the act; and the declaration against it, and in favor of revenue duties only, was a direction for future legislation, and did not prevent the compromise itself from granting protection.

I am for returning to the old legislation, not that I would copy any one statute in particular, but would conform to the plan and object of the whole. These statutes admitted of duties of various degrees, but all of them moderate in amount, and strictly calculated for revenue purposes. They admitted of duties on the quantity (specific) as well as on the value (ad valorem;) and when on the value they admitted of no minimums to falsify the real value and to augment the duty. They admitted of discriminations between articles of luxury and articles of necessity, and very properly made the former pay highest, while many of the latter were free—as salt in the time of Mr. Jefferson, or at the low rate of five per centum—as coarse woollens and common blankets, and other articles used by the laboring community. The specific duties, under these statutes, rarely exceeded a fourth or a third of the value: the ad valorems ranged from five to fifteen, with a temporary addition of two and a half per centum to equip some small vessels to protect the Mediterranean commerce from the depredations of the Barbary powers. To this system of duties, and this mode of levying them, I am in favor of returning, with the single qualification that, in no case, shall any duty, either specific or ad valorem, exceed one third of the value—the per centum; and with the full belief that the average of the whole will not be equal to the uniform twenty per centum of the compromise act. To the consumer, this maximum, and this average, should be satisfactory: to the manufactures, it will be great and ample protection. To him, it should be also satisfactory. He will get the benefit of the highest duty; for it comes within the principle of the old system, to put the highest duties upon the foreign rivals of our own productions, as well as upon luxuries: he will get the benefit of this duty, which will give him 50 per centum protection. I say 50; for 20 per centum duty is 50 per centum protection! the expenses of importation (7½ per cent.) and the importing merchant's profit (12½ per cent.) going into the price of the goods as well as the duty, and being just as effectual for protection as if inserted in the law. This, with the cardinal consideration of stability, should be satisfactory to the manufacturers.

This is our issue—the old system against the new; and upon this issue we can safely go to trial before the country. For it is not sufficient to have a good cause, and good arguments: you must have the right issues, or you may be defeated in spite of your good cause and good arguments. The compromise is not the right issue or the safe one. In levelling all duties to one uniform line—in disregarding the distinction between luxuries and necessaries, and between articles made or not made at home,—in doing this, it disregards a distinction founded in the nature of things—a distinction maintained in all previous legislation—admitted most recently by the extremest free-trade authorities—and too accordant with the sympathies of mankind to be obliterated by statute. We cannot make the issue upon that act, but upon the old system of revenue duties and incidental protection, with discrimination between luxuries and necessaries, and between articles made or not made at home. We are not to make war upon manufactures: we do not do it. They were once as popular in the South as in the North, and may become so again. The abuses of the high protective system have destroyed their old popularity in the South: eradicate the abuse, and they will again be popular in every part of the Union. Manufactures are among, not only the use-

*Messrs. Gregg, Wardlow, Legare, Preston, A. P. Hayne, Elliott, and Rhett Smith, the committee.

†Two hundred and fifty delegates present, of which 51 from Virginia, 16 from North Carolina, 41 from South Carolina, 6 from Georgia, 11 from Alabama, 1 from Mississippi, 2 from Maryland, 15 from Pennsylvania, 21 from New York, 1 from Rhode Island, 2 from Connecticut, 18 from Massachusetts, 1 from Maine.

‡R. George Tucker, president of the convention. Messrs. Brockenbrough, Randolph, Harrison, Young, Narbonne, Nicholas, Dromgoole, and Opie, secretaries.

ful and ornamental, but the noblest arts of the country. Every statesman will cherish them, and honor the skill and industry which perfects them, if left free to follow his own inclinations. Abuse only—the conduct of politicians and millionary capitalists—have made them enemies. Separate the real manufacturers from these two classes—be content with ample incidental protection—and universal good will will again attend them, greatly enlarging the extent of their market, and the list of their customers.

This is our issue—the old system against the new. And what can be the objection to returning to the old one? None that cannot be instantly and satisfactorily answered. I undertake to say that, under the old system, every interest connected with the imposition of duties was on a better footing than under the new—that agriculture, commerce, and the revenue from customs, were all larger in proportion to our population, and more free from fluctuations—that manufactures themselves were advancing faster than any other interest, and faster than they had ever advanced in any other country in the world; and that the whole country, so far as the tariff was concerned, was happy and tranquil; and continued so until ambitious politicians and millionary capitalists seized upon the subject for their own selfish purposes. These, Mr. President, are bold assertions, but not more bold than true, and as easily proved as uttered. I have the proof in hand; and as I love to deal in proof when I have it, I shall proceed immediately to the work.

1. The revenue from customs.

My assertion is, that the income from customs was larger, population considered, and more free from fluctuation, under the low duty system before the war, than under the high duty since. In maintaining this assertion, I take the time of the first period from 1789, when this government first went into operation, to the year 1808, when the British orders in council, and the decrees of the French emperor, and our own embargo, broke up our commerce, and deranged or destroyed our income from that source. I leave out the period of the embargo and of the war with Great Britain, as belonging to neither system. I take from 1790 to 1808: and what was our income from customs during that time? It was from four and a half to near sixteen millions and a half of dollars. And what was our population during the same time? From four millions to seven millions. The revenue then commenced at the rate of about one million of dollars to one million of people, and rose gradually to near two and a half millions of dollars to one million of people. So much for the first period; now for the second. Beginning with the year 1817, which was the first under the operation of the new system, and the revenue, commencing at twenty-six millions of dollars, fell as low as ten, rose again as high as thirty, fell again as low as twelve, thirteen, and fourteen millions, and for the last year was about seventeen and a half. Our population at the same time was from nine to eighteen millions; so that, at the best, the product of the high duties never rose higher than two and a half millions of dollars to one million of people, often fell as low as three quarters of a million of dollars for a million of people, and is now at the rate of a million for a million! In other words, that the *rate* of product is exactly the same now, when duties average more than 50 per cent. that it was in the first year of Washington's time, when the average was the one-fourth of that sum! and twice and a half less than it was in the last year of Mr. Jefferson, when the average of duties was not a third of what it is now. And here let it be remembered that the wars of the French revolution had nothing to do with our revenue. They increased importations, but not consumption. Duties were only paid on what remained in the country for consumption; the large amounts re-exported paid nothing.

I have prepared tables, Mr. President, of the annual income from customs, with a note of the population, during each period into which I have divided our financial history. These tables will illustrate my positions in detail, and more fully and completely than can be done in general statements. They will enable every senator, and every individual who sees them, to make the comparison for himself, and will sustain to the uttermost all that I have said of the superior productiveness of low duties over high. These are the tables:

First table, low revenue duties, from 1791 *to* 1808.

Years.	Population.	Income.
1791	4,000,000	$4,309,473
1792	–	3,445,070
1793	–	4,225,306
1794	–	4,801,065
1795	–	5,588,461
1796	–	6,567,987
1797	–	7,549,640
1798	–	7,106,061
1799	–	6,610,449
1800	5,300,000	9,080,939
1801	–	10,750,778
1802	–	12,438,235
1803	–	10,479,417
1804	–	11,098,505
1805	–	12,936,487
1806	–	16,667,698
1807	–	15,845,522
1808	7,000,000	16 363,550

Second table: High protective duties: from 1817 *to* 1843.

Years.	Population.	Income.
1817	9,000,000	$26,283,348
1818	–	17,176,385
1819	–	20,283,698
1820	9,638,000	15,005,612
1821	–	13,004,447
1822	–	17,559,761
1823	–	19,088,433
1824	–	17,878,325
1825	–	20,098,713
1826	–	23,341,331
1827	–	19,712,283
1828	–	23,205,523
1829	–	22,681,965
1830	12,866,000	21,922,391
1831	–	24,224,441
1832	–	28,465,237
1833	–	21,488,753
1834	–	14,797,782
1835	–	13,458,111
1836	–	21,552,272
1837	–	26,325,839
1838	–	13,315,129
1839	–	15,773,238
1840	17,000,000	20,560,439
1841	–	10,159,339
1842	–	15,789,173
1843	18,500,000	17,500,000

These, Mr. President, are the tables of the in-

come under the two systems; and now let us examine them, and compare them together. Look first upon this picture, and then upon that! See the annual income from 1791 to 1808: see the largeness of the amount for the smallness of the population, the freedom from fluctuation, and the steadiness of the increase. Beginning at four and one third millions, rising gradually, never varying more than a million in a year, and attaining in seventeen years the extraordinary amount of near seventeen millions of dollars, and that for only seven millions of people. Now look upon the other picture. Beginning in the year 1817, with twenty-six and a quarter millions of dollars, it falls the very next year to seventeen millions! and the year after rises to twenty and a quarter millions! tumbles down the next year to fifteen millions! and the year after tumbles again to thirteen millions! being an actual fluctuation of thirteen millions out of twenty-six in five years! All the rest of the period is about in the same proportion. Twice in twenty years the income got up as high as it was in 1817: twice again it fell to 17—twice to 15—twice to 13—once to 10—and is now at 17½,—which is near ten millions less than it was in the year 1808! This is bad enough: but to show off this period in proper contrast, a third table is necessary—a table showing at one view the actual income received, and the amount that ought to have been received during the same period, according to the increase of population, and according to the rate of the income during Mr. Jefferson's administration. This third table has been prepared, and here it is:

Third table, showing what ought to have been received from customs under the protective system to have been equal to the receipt under the revenue system.

Years.	Population.	Actual receipts.	Should have been.
1817	9,000,000	$26,283,348	$22,500,000
1818	–	17,176,385	
1819	–	20,283,608	
1820	9,638,000	15,005,612	24,000,000
1821	–	13,004,447	25,000,000
1822	–	17,559,761	
1823	–	19,088,433	
1824	–	17,878,325	
1825	11,000,000	20,098,713	27,000,000
1826	–	23,341,331	
1827	–	19,712,283	
1828	–	23,205,523	
1829	–	22,681,965	
1830	12,866,000.	21,922,391	31,500,000
1831	–	24,224,441	
1832	–	28,405,237	
1833	–	21,488,753	
1834	–	14,797,782	
1835	15,000,000	13,458,111	37,500,000
1836	–	21,552,272	
1837	–	26,325,839	
1838	–	13,315,129	
1839	–	15,373,238	
1840	17,000,000	20,660,439	42,500,000
1841	–	10,159,339	43,000,000
1842	–	15,789,173	
1843	18,500,000	17,500,000	46,250,000

According to this table, Mr. President, which I have made out with great care, it will be seen that, in 1817, when our population was nine millions, the income was 26½ millions instead of 22½, which it should have been: that in 1820 it was 15 millions instead of 24; in 1821 it was 13 millions instead of 25; in 1825, instead of 27 millions, it was 20; in 1830 it was 22 millions instead of 27; in 1835, we had 13½ millions instead of 37½—being just the one-half of the product of 1817! In 1840, we had 20½ millions instead of 42½; in 1841 it was 10 millions instead of 43; and in 1843, with a population of 18½ millions, we wound up with 17½ millions of dollars instead of 46½!

These tables speak a language which cannot be misunderstood, and they place in the strongest contrast the working of the two systems during the two periods: the beauty and advantages of one, and the deformities of the other, standing out in the boldest relief. In the first period, amplitude of amount, steadiness of the product, and regularity of the increase, strike every beholder. In the second period, all this is reversed: confusion and madness seem to reign in our treasury. Sometimes millions too much—then not half enough. Sometimes surpluses to be distributed—then deficits to be supplied. Giving away one day—begging or borrowing the next. Always a feast, or a famine—never the right thing. Our poor treasury become a balloon—sometimes soaring above the clouds—then dragging the mud—now bursting with distension—now collapsing from depletion.

The miseries of the high-duty system we have all seen and felt, and now see and feel; in the deplorable condition of our finances—a debt of near thirty millions created—loans to defray current expenses—four times a resort to treasury notes—and now an illegal and fraudulent issue of a paper money currency. Compared to the termination of the low duty system at the end of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and how does it stand? As confusion, misery, and deformity stand to order, beauty, and happiness. Mr. Jefferson's administration required an expenditure nearly equal, and, population considered, more than double what we require now; and the customs more produced all that was wanted, and to spare; for the lands produced but little. The interest and principal of the debt of the revolution was then to be paid; the interest of the Louisiana purchase had to be met; a war with the Barbary powers had to be kept up; a military peace establishment, larger than the present in proportion to our population, was kept up; and the revenue for all this expenditure, amounting to seventeen or eighteen millions of dollars, came from the customs, with a population of only seven millions, leaving every year a real surplus in the treasury. But let Mr. Jefferson himself present this picture. He presented it to the two Houses of Congress in his last annual message, and never was a time more fit to look at it again than the present. He said:

"It is ascertained that the receipts have amounted to near eighteen millions of dollars, which, with the eight millions and a half in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, and interest incurred, to pay two million three hundred thousand dollars of the principal of our funded debt, and left us in the treasury on that day near fourteen millions of dollars. Of these, five million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars will be necessary to pay what will be due on the first day of January next, which will complete the reimbursement of the eight per cent stock. These payments, with those made in the six years and a half preceding, will have extinguished thirty-three million five hundred and eighty thousand of the principal of the funded debt; being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law and of our contracts; and the amount of principal thus discharged will have liberated the revenue from about two millions of dollars of interest, and added that sum annually to the disposable surplus."

Such, Mr. President, was the working of the low-duty system—ample and steady revenue—no loans, no taxes, no paper-money—33 millions and a half

of public debt paid in eight years—a surplus of 14 millions left in the treasury—the result not of lands exchanged for paper, but the regular result of steady revenue, strict economy, and hard money. How different from the state of things under the high duties of the present day! Instead of paying above thirty millions of public debt in eight years, we have created near thirty millions in four years; instead of a surplus in the treasury, there is a deficit; loans and taxes are the order of the day; and, to crown all, we have an illegal and fraudulent issue of federal paper-money currency, issued by executive power, and sustained by bank alliances. Such is the difference between the working of the two systems after twenty-five years trial of each!

Upon this view of the question, I submit, Mr. President, that I have made good my first assertion, and demonstrated the superiority of law duties over high ones, in all that relates to good and wholesome revenue, the amplitude of its amount, the steadiness of the supply, the regularity of the increase.

2. I proceed to the next assertion—the superiority of low duties over high ones, in relation to their effect upon agriculture and foreign commerce. These two interests, in our country, go together, and the state of one is a good index to the other. The exports make the imports, and agriculture is at the bottom of the whole. The tables of exports and imports for the two periods which we contrast, will show how agriculture and commerce fared during the continuance of these periods, and to these tables I now have recourse. And here I will premise that I fully understand the nature of our neutral position during the wars of the French revolution, and the effect which that neutrality had in promoting imports for re-exportation. We re-exported much from 1791 to 1807, and have re-exported exactly as much from 1817 to 1844! Mexico, South America, and the West Indies, have opened new markets for our re-exportations; and it is a fact, proved by the custom-house returns to be the same. Five hundred and twenty millions of dollars are, as near as I can ascertain from the most careful research, the amount of re-exportations for each period; so that in a comparison of the foreign trade in each period, they may either be both omitted or both included, as the speaker pleases. Finding them included in the tables, I choose to use them in that way. The table of revenue has already settled the question in favor of the large amount of foreign goods which remained in the country for consumption. Duties were only paid on the amount so remaining; and a revenue of sixteen or seventeen millions of dollars from customs, with the low duties then paid, show that the importations for home consumption were greater then than now.

I will now show the tables of exports for these two periods; and they will be found (each in its place) to be characterized by the same features which distinguish the corresponding revenue—the same large amount, steady progress, and regular increase in one period—the same excesses and deficiencies, risings and fallings, and violent fluctuations in the second. Here is the table of the first period:

Table of foreign and domestic exports from the United States from 1791 *to* 1807.

Years.	Exports.	Population.
1791	$19,012,041	4,000,000
1792	20,753,896	
1793	26,109,572	
1794	33,026,233	
1795	47,080,472	
1796	67,064,097	
1797	56,850,206	
1798	61,527,097	
1799	78,665,522	
1800	70,971,780	5,300,000
1801	94,115,925	
1802	72,483,160	
1803	55,800,185	
1804	77,699,074	
1805	95,566,021	
1806	101,536,963	
1807	108,343,150	7,000,000
1808	Embargo.	

Observe, Mr. President, the regular and onward course of our exports during this period—always advancing, always increasing. Beginning in 1791 at twenty millions of dollars for four millions of people, they advance gradually and regularly to one hundred and eight millions in the year 1807, for seven millions of people. This table shows every thing that is desirable in a regular, flourishing, and prosperous commerce. Now let us look upon the next one. Behold it:

Table of foreign and domestic exports from the United States, from 1817 *to* 1843.

Years.	Exports.	Population.
1817	$87,671,569	9,000,000
1818	93,281,133	
1819	70,142,521	
1820	69,691,669	9,638,000
1821	64,974,382	
1822	72,160,281	
1823	74,699,030	
1824	75,986,657	
1825	99,535,388	
1826	77,595,322	
1827	82,324,329	
1828	72,264,680	
1829	72,358,671	
1830	73,840,508	12,866,000
1831	81,310,583	
1832	87,176,943	
1833	90,140,433	
1834	104,336,973	
1835	121,693,577	
1836	128,663,040	
1837	117,419,373	
1838	108,486,616	
1839	121,028,416	
1840	133,685,946	17,000,000
1841	121,851,803	
1842	104,691,534	
1843	–	18,500,000

Here we have it again, sir! The counterpart of the income from customs during the same time: the same plunging and floundering, the same incessant and violent fluctuation. Commencing at eighty-seven millions of dollars in 1817, for nine millions of people, these exports sunk as low, in 1821, as sixty-four millions of dollars for ten millions of people. Then they swell up to ninety-nine millions; then fall back to seventy-two millions; then dart up to one hundred thirty-two millions, and fall back, in 1842, to one hundred and four millions. At this amount they stand now, being about the same they were at in 1808, when the population of the country was little more than the one-third of what it is at present, when the cultivation of the country was not more than a third of the present cultivation, and when the great article of cotton (now amounting to two-thirds

of our exports) was but a small item in the list of exported articles. Taking these circumstances into consideration, and the decline of agriculture, and of the foreign commerce founded upon it, becomes appalling. Leaving out cotton, and the agricultural exports are less now than they were in 1808. They then amounted to forty-eight millions: they only amount to about one hundred millions now, of which cotton is near two-thirds.

Such is the general view of our agriculture and commerce under the high duty system, and under a tariff incessantly altered for political and mercenary objects. It presents a deplorable picture of their decline; and not only of their decline, but of their ruinous revulsions and convulsions. Viewed in detail, and in relation to its effect on particular articles, and the miserable picture becomes still more deplorable. Thus: The rice exportation, in Mr. Jefferson's time, was at an average of two and a half millions of dollars per annum; it has since fallen as low as one and a half per annum, and is now under two millions. Flour, in 1807, was exported to the value of eight and a quarter millions; under the high tariff it has fallen as low as three millions; has been under five millions for half the time since 1817, and is now at seven and one third millions. Indian corn and corn meal were exported to the value of two and a half millions annually, under Mr. Jefferson's administration: in one half the years under the new system, this export has been less than one million of dollars, and is now not equal to what it was forty years ago. Wheat, in 1807, was exported to the amount of 776,000 bushels: From 1817 to the present time, the export of this grain has only once risen as high as 400,000 bushels; has twenty times been under 100,000, and four times has been less than 5000 bushels. Tobacco has shared the general fate of other agricultural products, and that without any attempt at excuse; for people use as much of that weed in peace as in war, and in idleness as in labor; yet it has shared the same fate as the rest. Thus, in the first year of General Washington's administration, (fifty-four years ago,) the export of this article was 101,000 hogsheads; the next year it was 112,000; yet, under the high-duty system, this export has repeatedly gone down to 60,000 or 70,000 hogsheads, and is now at only about 150,000. To be equal to what it was in Washington's time, would require an export of 400,000 hogsheads; for our population has increased four fold since that time. Thus, viewed in the gross, or in the detail, the result is the same—agriculture and foreign commerce, as well as revenue, have been sacrificed for the last twenty-five years, and it is time—high time—that these great interests should be restored to the flourishing condition which they enjoyed in the first half of our national existence. High tariff, political tariffing, and their kindred abuse, (excessive banking,) have done this mischief; and it is time for these evils to cease.

I protest against the mode, sometimes pursued here, of comparing isolated years against each other—the imports, or exports, or revenue—of one or two years with those of one or two other years. All such comparisons are fallacious, as much so as it would be to examine through a microscope a brick or a stone from two different buildings, and then judge of the whole from such miscroscopic observations of small parts. Systems against systems—periods of time against periods—is the only safe mode of comparison; and in that mode I compare the high duty with the low duty system. The comparison has been found immeasurably to the benefit of the latter, and will continue to be found so if followed from general views to details—from public to private affairs. Individuals have suffered as much as the government in the last twenty-five years. Their business also has partaken of the ups and downs—the flights and falls—of the treasury and of commerce. All business has been deranged—expansion one day, contraction another—now a man dealing in hundreds of thousands, then bankrupt!—then coming to Congress for relief laws, or to the executive for office; and losing the dignity of home independence by this humiliating appeal to the government for support. All has been brought upon us by high tariff. The same cause which deranged the treasury of the Union—which gorged it one day, and starved it another—this same cause deranged the business of individuals: and, if there is any extenuation for the humiliating spectacle of the crowds who come to the federal government for the means of subsistence, it is in the fact that vicious legislation has brought them to that degradation. The two periods which I have contrasted are the general picture, and the government picture, of which the detail is in the people. In the first period all was happy and prosperous; the people were doing well, and were contented; and consumed, when only seven millions of souls, as much foreign goods at the then low rates of duty, as gave sixteen millions of revenue to the government: now the many are impoverished to enrich the few; and eighteen millions of people, at the present high rates of duty, pay no more revenue into the treasury than was paid thirty-four years ago by seven millions. Why this difference? Because people are poor and distressed now, and their affairs all deranged, like the treasury: and formerly they were rich and happy, and their affairs, like the the treasury, prosperous and regular. The two tables of revenue which I have produced are the key to the exports and imports—a key to the condition of the country—a key to the condition of the people: and in the order, plenty, and regularity of one, and the disorder, fluctuation, and confusion of the other, you see all that has happened publicly and privately in the two periods of time, and under the two systems, which I have been comparing together, or rather contrasting against each other.

After this exposition, Mr. President, of our exports under the protective system, it is hardly necessary to trouble the Senate with any detailed view of our imports during the same period. They are obliged to partake of the same character, and such is the fact. They have risen as high as one hundred and ninety millions; they have fallen as low as sixty-four millions; and they have plunged and floundered backwards and forwards at all amounts between these two wide extremes. They are now at about one hundred millions, which is less than they were at thirty years ago.

And here, sir, I quit this branch of the case, with the confident conviction that I have made good my second assertion, and proved that agriculture and commerce not only did better under the old system than under the new, but that they flourished in the highest state of prosperity then, and have been sunk to the lowest state of depression since.

3. I proceed, Mr. President, to my third assertion, which applies to manufactures, and asserts their prosperity before the late war, and before the protective system was invented. It is a great mistake

to suppose that they have grown up under that system: they were well established, and flourishing before that system was dreamed of, and of this I have the higest evidence in my hand.

It is known that the Congress of the United States directed the census returns of the year 1810 to include the state of our manufactures, and that these returns, though very imperfect, from the fear which many people had that a scheme of ulterior taxation was intended, still showed that this branch of our national industry had attained a high degree of importance. The aggregate of the returns, palpably defective as they were, amounted to one hundred and twenty-seven millions of dollars, and were computed at near two hundred millions. The total omission of returns from many places, and the imperfect returns from others, induced Congress to prosecute the inquiry which they had commenced; and on the 19th day of March, 1812, a joint resolution was passed by both Houses, and approved by the President, directing the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gallatin, to have the returns digested and perfected. For this purpose, Mr. Gallatin employed Mr. Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia, an eminent advocate for manufactures, a writer for twenty-seven years in their favor, and the gentleman whose opinions on this subject were lately presented by Mr. Webster, at a public meeting, in a way to pass them for those of Dr. Franklin. Mr. Coxe completed his task with great labor and care. He took two years to verify his statements, and produced an authentic work, from which I will now read the extracts which will sustain my assertion.

Mr. B. then read from Mr. Coxe's repotr, page 53 of the introduction, as follows:

"In the course of the numerous and diversified operations, occasioned by the deliberate execution of this digest and statement, constant and very close attention has been applied to those facts which have occurred throughout the Union since the autumn of the year 1810, from which a judgment of the condition of the manufactures of the United States for the current year 1813 might be safely formed. It has resulted in a thorough conviction that, after allowing for the interruptions to the importations of certain raw materials, the several branches of manufactures in the States, Territories, and districts, have advanced, upon a medium, *at the full rate of twenty per centum;* which would give an aggregate for this year of $207,000,000. But as it is best to make ample allowances for some manifest repetitions of articles, which are inextricably involved in the subordinate returns, a sincere and well-reflected final opinion is respectfully offered, that the whole people of the United States, taken in 1813 at eight millions of persons, will actually make, within this year, manufactured goods (exclusively of the doubtful) to the full value of two hundred millions of dollars."

Here (said Mr. B.) are two great facts stated; *first*, that manufactures were then actually advancing at the rate of 20 per centum per annum; *secondly*, that the actual value of manufactures was then equal to two hundred millions of dollars per annum. Contemplate these facts within themselves, and the flourishing condition of the manufacturing interest, which they announce is great and striking. Twenty per centum of annual increase, and two hundred millions of annual product, in a population of eight millions, is an astonishing result for a young country. Compare it with other interests, and with population. Population was only increasing at the rate of three per cent per annum, and required twenty-five years to double: foreign commerce was only increasing at a moderate rate, and required twenty years to advance from twenty millions to one hundred millions, and is only now where it was above thirty years ago. Agriculture, though advancing steadily in its exports in the first half of our national existence, has since declined in all its ancient staples. Yet manufactures were already at two hundred millions of annual product, and advancing at the rate of twenty per cent per annum, before the protective system was invented—before politicians had taken it into their heads to become their patrons!

But Mr. Coxe does not stop at these statements. He makes his case still stronger by comparison—by comparing the state of American with that of English manufactures, at the nearest proximate point of time and amounts of population. He shows that the manufactures of England, (not of Great Britain, but of England proper,) with a population of eight and a half millions, and just before the formation of our constitution, was only two hundred and sixty-six millions!—a mere fraction beyond our own, with eight millions of people, before the protective system was established. But hear him for himself. Let him speak for himself. Let this enlightened and disinterested champion of the cause deliver his own facts in his own words. At page 52, he says:

"Some confirmation of this view of our national operations, mercantile and manufacturing, may be drawn from the facts, that, in the years of general peace and prosperous and regular commerce—from 1785 to 1787—the average exports of England, (alone,) with about 8,500,000 inhabitants, amounted to seventy millions of dollars, while *their manufactures were computed at two hundred and sixty-six millions of dollars.*"

This, Mr. President, is a most astonishing approximation. The English had been pushing their manufactures from the time of Edward III—full five hundred years—and had only reached the product of two hundred and sixty-six millions of dollars to eight and a half millions of population. We had been letting ours alone with the advantage they possessed in their three thousand miles distance from their European rivals—in their incidental protection under revenue duties—in their advantages of cheap provisions, light taxes, hard money, and free action under equal laws. We had been letting our manufactures alone with these real and great advantages, and they were already nearly equal in amount to those of England, after five hundred years of governmental protection.

But let us continue the reading; let the witness speak. At page 10 of the introduction, Mr. Coxe says:

"Machinery is now in actual operation in the United States for printing cotton and linen cloths by engraved rollers of copper, moved by water. Ten thousand yards have been printed with ease in a single day, by one man and two boys, with these rollers. Fifty thousand children's handkerchiefs have been printed in the same time by the same number of persons. Similar means are in constant use for staining and dying cotton and linen cloths of one color in the same expeditious manner, so as to make them fit for the greater variety of apparel and furniture."

And again from page 11, of the introduction:

"The States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts have expelled all doubts about the practicability of the cotton operations. With the smallest territory in the United States, Rhode Island has already attained, and introduced into her vicinity a cotton branch of our manufactures as valuable as the cotton branch of any country in Europe was at the time of the formation of our constitution. The neighboring States of Massachusetts and Connecticut quickly followed Rhode Island; and the tables which are annexed, imperfect as they unavoidably are, manifest the universality and magnitude of the cotton manufacture in 1810."

One thousand eight hundred and ten!—observe the date, Mr. President! Observe the date!—one thousand eight hundred and ten! Two years before the war, and near seven years before the politicians took hold of the subject, the cotton manufacture was completely es-

tablished in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts; as well established as it was in any country in Europe before the formation of our constitution; a man and two boys could print, with ease, ten thousand yards of calico, or fifty thousand childrens' handkerchiefs in a day; that the success of these States had expelled all doubt upon the subject. And this was the state of the cotton manufacture in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, more than the third of a century ago: and now, after twenty-five years of aid from the protective system, we are told that this manufacture must go to ruin if not further protected by enormous duties and prohibitory minimums. Certainly, if this is the case, they have been injured by our aid, and have been held up so long that they cannot stand alone. But this is not the case. This manufacture was well established thirty-odd years ago, and is able now, as I will show hereafter, to stand alone, and to contend with the cottons of Great Britain and of Europe, not only here at home, but all over the world. And here, Mr. President, I must again advert to the date. The modern champions of manufactures say it was the war which gave birth to manufactures, and that we must have high duties now to protect what the war created; but the work of Mr. Coxe shows this to be a grand mistake; that this great interest had taken deep and wide root before the war, and was going on well even before the year 1810.

It is impossible to follow Mr. Coxe through a detailed view of the condition of each branch of manufactures, which he presents in this volume. The index occupies eight pages, and the number of articles enumerated exceeds three hundred. They comprise all manner of productions—almost everything useful or ornamental—in the working of wool, wood, iron, glass, hemp, flax, leather, and a long list of others, all well established as early as the year 1810, and many before that time. He computes the manufactures of the three articles of wool, flax, and cotton alone, at four millions of dollars. Then, he computes at fourteen millions—leather at eighteen—wood at five and a half—cables and cordage four and a quarter. Wool, he says, was in the most rapid state of improvement next after cotton. New England made fine, if not superfine, broadcloth, above fifty years ago. President Washington wore a suit of it, made at Jeremiah Wadsworth's factory in Connecticut, when he first met the two Houses of Congress under the present constitution. Fifty-four years ago, on the most august occasion in the annals of man, the most finished gentleman, hero, and patriot that modern times have beheld, found Connecticut cloth good enough for him to wear! And now we are to be entertained with a belief that the manufacture of this cloth is just growing up there—that it has been hatched into existence by the hot incubation and meretricious embraces of politicians and capitalists, and is yet too feeble to stand unless supported by the powerful arm of the American government!

I repeat it,—it is impossible; time and strength would fail me, to undertake to follow Mr. Coxe through his detailed view of our manufactures in 1810. I must take it by States, and show what he then said of States which are now the most urgent for government protection. Thus: The manufactures of Massachusetts were stated at $21,895,000; New Hampshire 5½ millions; Vermont at 5½ millions; Rhode Island at 4 millions; with the remark that the cotton manufacture was there increasing at the rate of 33⅓ per centum; Connecticut at 7⅓; with the remark, that there were constant additions to the number of manufactories in that State, and of the capital employed in them; New York 25 millions, with the belief it should be 33; New Jersey 7 millions; Maryland 11½. All this appears at page 38 of the tables, and shows the extraordinary growth of manufactures in all these States at the early period of 1810. But Pennsylvania was still superior to all these; and to that State Mr. Coxe devoted a separate table, by countries, at page 63 of the introduction. Forty-four millions of dollars is his estimate of the manufactures of that State, of which 16 millions alone were in the city and county of Philadelphia. His whole estimate for 1810 is near 200 millions of dollars; about double as much as the whole exported productions of agriculture are at this day; about double as much as the whole importation of foreign goods are at this day; about equal to the joint amount of exported agriculture and foreign commerce thirty-three years thereafter! The whole cotton crop of the United States for the last year was 47 millions. Pennsylvania manufactured 44 millions in 1810. The largest cotton crop ever made in any one State in a year, was 15 millions—that of Mississippi in 1839. Philadelphia county and city manufactured 16 millions in 1810!

Having shown this to be the flourishing condition and actual value of our manufactures at that early period, Mr. Coxe proceeds to the very natural inquiry into the causes of the extraordinary growth of this branch of industry in our new and youthful country. He inquires into these causes, and finds them in the freedom of our institutions, which permits every talent to take its natural course, and foreign skill to incorporate with our own; in our position, which gave all the difference of costs and charges and mercantile profit on the foreign rival, in favor of the domestic article; in the abundance of raw materials, the cheapness of provisions, the lightness of taxes, and in the incidental protection resulting from the imposition of revenue duties for the support of the government. But this is a point at which the oldest advocate of manufactures should be allowed to speak for himself: and let us hear him. I read from pages 28, 29, 50, 59, 60, of the introduction:

"The United States have some palpable and great advantages over their foreign rivals in the cotton branch. These of Europe depend upon foreign agriculture for the raw material, for the indigo, and in a considerable degree for their breadstuffs." * * *

"The expenses, costs and charges of transporting cotton from the farms and plantations even near the coasts of the United States, to the manufactories of Manchester, Glasgow and Rouen, and the same charges upon manufactured goods brought from those places to houses of the planters and, farmers in America, are equal to 50 per cent on the finer and 75 per cent on the coarse, heavy, and bulky goods of these great manufacturing towns." * * *

"Every man and woman in the United States unchanged with crime, is free of every city, town, borough, hamlet, village, township, hundred, county, and enjoys the freedom of every occupation, trade and calling." "Foreign masters as well as journymen and foreign capitalists have discovered that the United States afford extensive opportunities to employ themselves in manufactures and useful arts, as has been long the case in commerce, navigating, stocks, banks, and insurance companies. The manufacturing branches are as open to them here, as are agriculture and the purchase of lands and houses in the most favorable States, or as they are to a native or naturalized citizen. Patented monopolies, processes, machinery and tools, engrossed for a time by foreign invention in Europe, may of course be used here by all persons without restraint or injury. In this highly inventive and well instructed age, these opportunities, in such a country as the United States, often redound to the great benefit of respectable foreigners as well as of ourselves."—*Pages 28, 29, 50.*

"It is manifest to the close observer, that this state of things very extensively existing, and faithfully represented, has occasioned manufactures to spring up every where, as an operation of plain common sense to effect the consumption, employment or sale of the products of the earth, and to attain a supply of the comforts and conveniences of life. It is the natural and irresistible working of things."—*Page* 59, 60.

"*The facility of retaining and steadily extending this valuable branch (the manufacturing) of the national industry is manifested by its very early and spontaneous commmencement in every county and township, and by its nearly spontaneous and costless growth, with such aids only as have not occasioned any material expense or sacrifice to agriculture or commerce, since they were chiefly incidental to necessary revenue, or resulted from our distance from the foreign consumers of our productions and manufactures of our supplies.*"—*Page*, 50 * * *

"*Such are the principal facts which occur to recollection, at this time, evincing the benefits to owners and cultivators of the soil from the manufactures which have arisen unforced in the United States. Their principal protection by duties is incidental. Those duties were imposed to raise the necessary revenue; but greatly favored the manufactures.*"—*Page* 29, *Introduction.*

Such, Mr. President, were the causes of the growth of manufactures among us. They grew up of themselves, without the knowledge of politicians, and without any aid from federal legislation, except the incidental assistance from the imposition of revenue duties. Their growth was natural—spontaneous—unforced—without injury to commerce or agriculture—without injury to revenue—and, what is not to be forgotten, not only without a word of discontent or dissatisfaction in any part of the Union, but with the absolute approbation of all. I repeat it: manufactures were just as popular at that time in the South as they were in the North. No party feeling, or sectional feeling, or even individual feeling, was at that time entertained against them. All cheered their progess, and honored their cause. All befriended them, until politicians and millionary capitalists converted them into a political interest and an engine of oppression.

After having shown the flourishing condition of manufactures, and the causes of their great and rapid growth among us, Mr. Coxe naturally looks forward to the future, and inquires what more is yet to be done for them? He makes a formal head of the inquiry, and indexes it with these impressive words: "*Promotion of manufactures—safe, cheap, benevolent, and infallible method of.*" This was written in September, 1814, in the third preface to Mr. Coxe's work; and the date, as well as the inquiry, becomes eminently material. It was only two years before the politicians took hold of the subject, and came forward with their protective system. Surely if the further aid of Congress had been wanting, Mr. Coxe (a writer for twenty-seven years in favor of manufactures) was the man to know it! the month of September, 1814, was the time to find it out! and this was the place in the book to tell it! Does he do so? Does he ask for federal aid? Does he ask for high duties and minimums? Does he mention tariffs? Does he allude to any of these things? No, sir, no! None of these means of promoting manufactures have any place in his mind, or in his book. In the ample verge which he had left himself for the insertion of every salutary aid under the terms *safe, cheap, benevolent, and infallible*, there was no place for federal protection or congressional help!—no place for high duties and prohibitory minimums! Half a dozen pages are given up to inculcating the necessity for the diffusion of skill, the multiplication of machinery, the adoption of new improvements, the application of steam power, the education of the operatives, and to the cultivation of good fedlings in every part of the Union, but not a word about protective duties and minimums!—not a word about the tariff! In fact, the word *tariff* is not mentioned in the book—not once in the whole book—not once in a quarto volume of two hundred pages, wholly occupied with the growth and establishment of manufactures, and a special chapter devoted to the means of improvement. The nearest approach that can be found to it is in the word *tar*, in the index, where it is placed for the purpose of showing that the tar-burners would not give in the produce of their kilns, for fear of being taxed; and that, consequently, tar has no place in the census returns—no more than tariff has in Mr. Coxe's book.

I cannot quit this part of my examination of the subject without dwelling on the fact of this remarkable non-appearance of the word *tariff* in such a book. The word is not in the book! A writer for twenty-seven years in favor of manufactures—issuing a quarto volume on the subject—inquiring as late as September, 1814, what further was necessary to be done for his great and darling object: this writer never once pronounces the word tariff! Yet in two years after that time politicians and millionary capitalists spread the term through the land—make it the watchword of party—the text of endless harangues—the ladder of political promotion—the creed of politicians—the subject of catechism to every candidate for office from the American presidency to the township constable. Such is the power of party spirit and money—the power of a great political party, and a great moneyed interest, acting together for their joint account, and agitating the country for their own selfish designs.

No, sir, Mr. Coxe could find no place under any one of his heads of promotion of manufactures—either that of safe, or cheap, or benevolent, or infallible—for inverting the word tariff—that word which, for a quarter of a century, has been tearing the peace of the country, and almost the Union itself, to pieces. But he did find a place for another means of promoting and perpetuating the success of this great interest, which does so much honor to his patriotism, and has so strong an application to our present condition, that I have reserved it for a separate and final quotation. It is this:

"Some further illustration of the great interest of the United States in the general business of manufactures, of their unforced progress, of their actual magnitude, of their sure, easy means of their execution, and of their immoveable establishment, was the principal aim of this supplementary note. It was written in the summer of the current year, 1814, while the original statement was issuing from the press, and under the same circumstances as parts I and II. The sole aim of the publication of the present entire work is to elucidate, unite, and promote the various interests of the American family, whether agricultural, mercantile, manufacturing, or auxiliary, in the North and the South, in the East, in the West, and in the centre. No partial objects, local or professional, have influenced the publication. To sacrifice the rights and interests of the merchants to the exclusive benefit of the manufacturers, would appear to be an unreasonable and vain attempt; to endeavor to effect a like sacrifice of the rights and interests of manufacturers, to the exclusive benefit of the merchants, would seem to be equally irrational and vain; to neglect to foster, by all wise measures, both external and internal trade, or foreign commerce and home manufactures, would appear entirely to disregard the well-tried and certain means of agricultural and landed prosperity, and of national wealth and power."—*Page* 70 *of the introduction.*

This is the last and crowning advice which this patriotic man gives to the manufacturers. It is to cultivate good will with all—endeavor to sacrifice no interest—unite the whole American family—conciliate the North, South, East, West, and centre. This

was his last and crowning advice; and this was the state of things when he wrote. How different from the conduct of politicians, and the state of things which they have brought about! And now, if I should venture a piece of advice to the manufacturers—I, who have always shown myself their true and disinterested friend—it would be to eschew partisan politics! Be as ardent in politices as they please *individually;* but as a *body*, avoid the contagion of partizan politics! Of that disease died the Bank of the United States!

I now submit, Mr. President, that I have made good my third assertion—that I have proved the successful and prosperous establishment of manufactures long before the invention of the protective system; and, consequently, that there is no necessity for continuing that system, to prevent them now from going to ruin.

The census of 1810 has done us good service on this subject: we have had another census since, which has done us good service upon it again. I speak of the census of 1840. One shows us what manufactures were: the other, what they are. And though they are imperfect, from the honest fear which many people had of being taxed, and which made them withhold full returns, in some instances, yet, as far as they go, they are correct and reliable.

Manufactures were well established from Maryland to Massachusetts in the year 1810. What are they now? Let the census of 1840 speak! I have recourse to the compendium of that document, printed by Blair and Rives, and quote from pages 107 to 113, and from 356 to 361; and begin with the State of Massachusetts. The woollen manufacture of that State is set down at $7,082,898 upon a capital of $4,179,850 invested, and with 5,076 persons employed. This is at the rate of about one dollar and three quarters of annual product for each one dollar invested, and about 1,400 for each hand employed. This is the gross product, from which, of course, the expenses are to be deducted. Deduct them. They are not great in the fugal northeast—make an allowance for machinery which supplies the place of the people—or merely look to capital invested and product yielded—and you will have an amount of profit unknown in any other part of the world. So much for wool: now for cotton. The value of this manufacture is set down $16,553,423 on a capital of $17,414,000 invested, and 20,928 persons employed. This is at the rate of about dollar for dollar for the capital, and about 760 dollars to the hand. Let us try another article—that of leather. The manufactures of this article are stated at $10,553,826 of value, upon a capital of $3,318,544 invested: number of persons employed not stated. The product compared to the capital, in this case, is nearly three to one.

[Here Mr. CRITTENDEN inquired of Mr. B. what was meant by capital invested. Did it include buildings and ground?]

Mr. B. I read the words as I find them, and have no doubt they include the buildings and the ground, as well as the machinery and water privileges, and all auxiliary establishments. I give the words their largest import; let them include every possible outlay, and then say the product is the largest that ever resulted from human labor in the annals of mankind.

But to pursue the inquiries through some other articles in the State of Massachusetts. The manufactures of paper are set down at $1,659,930 value upon a capital of $1,082,800 invested; which gives a yield of a dollar and a half annually upon every dollar invested. And so on through an almost endless list of other articles; and all coming out in about the same way. Dollar for dollar—two dollars for one—and sometimes three for one—are the usual proceeds of the year upon the capital invested; and after making every allowance for expenses to be deducted from these amounts, the net profits, especially considering that machinery is chiefly employed, one piece of which will do the work of two hundred hands—eating, drinking, wearing nothing, never sleeping and never tiring: when we consider this, I repeat, the net profits must be the largest ever known in the history of human labor. The manufacturers have often astonished us by publishing accounts of 10, 12, 15, 17, 20 per cent. divided every six months; and great as these dividends were, it is certain they were only a part of the profits. Large surpluses were left to be divided in the lump on some happy day, or to be invested in new works. They could not venture to divulge the whole extent of their real profits, for fear of producing too many rivals.

Compare the proceeds of agriculture with these proceeds of manufactures. Does the farmer get 100, 200, 300 per cent. annually upon the amount of his capital invested? are his gross proceeds the equal, the double, and the treble of his capital invested? his lands, houses, slaves, cattle, implements? I thank the senator from Kentucky [Mr. CRITTENDEN] for his question. He has put the right question, and brings out a fair comparison—the whole against the whole! Take the whole investment of the farmer, the planter, against the whole investment of the manufacturer, and compare the gross proceeds with gross proceeds. I have no means of ascertaining net profits, and that depends more upon the manager than the subject: take the gross against the gross, and let the planter and the farmer answer. Can he give you the third or the quarter, instead of the double or the treble? Can he even give you ten or 15 per cent., instead of 100, 200, and 300 per cent.? No, sir? he cannot! and yet this farmer and this planter is to be taxed in every necessary, and in every comfort of his life to swell still higher and to perpetuate still longer the enormous and exorbitant profits of a class who are advancing to princely wealth, while they themselves can hardly contrive to make the two ends of the year meet.

Besides the great articles worthy of separate consideration which I have named, and which are specifically enumerated, I find, at page 361, a column of non-enumerated articles, a sort of miscellaneous collection of small items, not worthy of specific enumeration. These anonymous articles, I suppose, constitute what is known by the name of "*notions*," and seem to be as profitable an investment as the rest. The Massachusetts report of them stands at $6,560,234 value produced, for $3,287,986 invested, which is about two for one. Rhode Island stands at $1,658,193 upon $620,450 invested, which is about the same rate. Connecticut stands at $2,266,994, upon an investment of $1,254,576, which is still coming up pretty nearly to the same mark. The whole value of these "*notions*" in New England is about six millions of dollars—about equal to the flour export of the whole United States—with a gross product of two to one upon the capital invested in their production; yet the wheat-growers must be taxed for the making of them, as well as taxed by their purchase.

It is impossible to follow these tables through the hundreds of articles of manufactures which they

present, and through all the States, from Maryland to Massachusetts, where they are chiefly carried on. The compendium is in every senator's hands; and each one can pursue the inquiry for himself. Would to God that one was in the hands of every citizen of the Great West, that he might see how many thousand times better off than himself is the millionary capitalist, for whose further enrichment he is grievously and daily taxed in all the comforts and necessaries of life, and through all the divisions of his household, from his wife, children, and servants, to the cattle that pursue him for salt. I cannot pursue the table through nine States, and the hundreds of articles in each of these States, which show the present state of manufactures among them; but I have made an extract of what relates to wool and cotton—the amount produced, and the amount invested in each—and here present it as a specimen of the whole. It will be seen that the product is generally at the rate of dollar for dollar, and sometimes the double of it. This is the table, leaving out Massachusetts, of which I have already spoken:

	WOOL.		COTTON.	
	Product.	Capital.	Product.	Capital.
Rhode Island -	$842,172	$655,350	$7,116,772	$7,326,000
Connecticut -	2,494,318	1,931,330	2,715,000	3,162,000
Vermont - -	1,331,000	1,406,560	*But little.*	
New York - -	3,537,337	3,469,349	3,640,237	4,900,772
New Jersey -	440,710	314,650	2,056,104	1,722,810
Pennsylvania -	2,319,061	1,510,646	5,013,007	3,325,400
Delaware - -	*But little.*	–	332,272	330,500
Maryland - -	*Little.*	–	1,150,560	1,304,400

The census returns of 1840, though ample in details, are deficient in a table of aggregates by States. The census returns of 1810, as digested and completed by Mr. Tench Coxe, contained such a table for that year: it is to be regretted that the returns of 1840 do not contain a similar one: they would give us the comparative view of the manufactures of the two periods, and show us how much they had advanced in thirty years. I would have made the table myself, and presented it in comparison with that of Mr. Coxe; but many of the articles being returned by quantities, without values annexed, the labor of hunting out those values in prices current, and then calculating the whole, was too much for my time. Thus, the article of iron is carried out in tons—286,903 tons of cast, and 197,233 tons of bar, being returned as the annual product of the whole Union. The product of the fisheries is returned in quintals (112 lbs.) and barrels for the fish, and gallons for the oil. Thus, 773,947 quintals of dried fish; 472,539½ barrels of pickled fish; 4,764,708 gallons spermaceti oil; 7,536,778 gallons of other oil; while the article of whalebone, and some minor items of the fisheries are alone returned in value, and this part amounts to $1,153,234; and all this upon a capital of $16,429,620 invested in these fisheries. The annual gross product of this capital is probably dollar for dollar: yet the western farmers, who are getting but ten or twelve per cent upon their investments, must be taxed 75 per cent on Liverpool salt, 100 per cent on Turk's Island, and nearly 200 on Mediterranean salt, to give the fisheries a pretext for drawing off illegally and unduly about $350,000 of fishing bounties and allowances, annually, from the treasury, under the assumption of a drawback of the amount of duty paid on the salt *exported* on the *exported* fish; when the fact is that they get the drawback on all the fish consumed in the country, as well as on the exported part; and, besides that, use much domestic salt, which has paid no duty at all! and are getting the bounty at the old rate of 20 cents a bushel on salt, while the duty now is reduced to eight cents!

Not having an aggregate of manufactures, by States, for 1840, in the census of that year, I am driven to other sources, and to conjecture, to form an opinion of it. Looking to these other sources, and I find in our Congress library a return of the manufactures of Massachusetts for the year beginning the 1st of April, 1836, and ending the 1st of April, 1837, in which both the details and the aggregate of that great branch of industry for that State are fully and carefully given. The report was made under the orders of the legislature, and published by its authority, and may be relied upon as correct. The value of the year is made upon *the average* of the five preceding years; so that the time of the product reported, refers itself to the years 1834-35. This report, thus made up, and after leaving out 6,853,248 dollars of ship-building, gives 86,289,616 dollars as the product of a single year's manufacturing industry of that State. This is an enormous sum. Carried forward from the time to which it refers (1834-35) to the year 1840, which is the proper point of contemplation and comparison, and the amount cannot be less than one hundred millions of dollars! What a stupendous production for a population of 737,699 souls, and a territory of 9,000 square miles, and which has but two native articles of export—ice and stone! Why, sir, it exceeds the agricultural export of the whole Union; it exceeds the foreign trade of the whole Union; and if the rest of the Union was in proportion to Massachusetts, the manufacturing industry of the whole would now be one thousand millions. Taking Massachusetts as the criterion, and it would be that much. Thus, in 1810, the aggregate of her manufactures was twenty-one millions of dollars; it has multiplied five fold in thirty years; the same increase through the Union would give one thousand millions! But other States have not increased as much, and three or four hundred millions may be deducted. Six or seven hundred millions may be the product of the Union: but let us confine our attention to Massachusetts, about which there is no doubt, and which is at the head of the manufacturing interest of the country, and the great advocate of the tariff. Her manufactures, beyond dispute, have increased five fold in thirty years! and now, what have agriculture and foreign commerce increased during the same time? The lamentable tables which I read yesterday, answer this question: and show that, with a population more than doubled, with an extent of territory brought under cultivation, also more than doubled, and with the great article of cotton added, which constitues nearly two-thirds of the whole—the great interests of agriculture and foreign commerce remain now where they were thirty years ago! And yet the farmers, the planters, and the merchants, are required to take the manufacturing interest in their arms, and carry it like a babe in a cradle.

Manufactures are now well established: there is another document which proves it as conclusively as the census returns: I speak of the document of Commerce and Navigation annually published by

order of Congress; and in which, among other things, there is shown to be a large exportation of domestic manufactures! The amount and variety of these exportations prove the fact of their complete establishment, and ability to contend with their foreign rivals abroad, as well as at home. The value exported last year amounted to near nine millions of dollars; comprehending near sixty varieties of articles; of which cotton goods amounted to three millions of dollars; and iron, in the form of pig, bar, castings, nails, &c., to one million one hundred thousand. These articles go to Europe and to Asia—to Mexico, South America, and the West Indies—there to contend, without protection, and burdened with costs for freight and other charges, with the rival articles of all parts of the world! And while they do this abroad, are they in need of enormous protection from high duties, and prohibitory duties, and prohibitory minimums, at home? Is the cotton, worn at home, to pay an enormous duty, while it is worn abroad without duty? Is the *fustian*, which is worn by the day laborer in the United States, to pay *one hundred and forty-five* per cent duty, when it can go abroad, and be sold to the South American or the Asiatic without duty? And so of all other cotton articles, the manufacture of which was fully established, as Mr. Tench Coxe has proved, above thirty years ago? Our export of domestic manufactures is now greater than that of any agricultural article, cotton only excepted. It is greater than that of tobacco, flour, salted provisions! And while this is the case, can manufactures stand in need of enormous protection, at the expense of these articles?

Manufacturing industry has had, and still has to a large degree, the sympathies of the western people. It rested upon arguments which went home to their bosoms—to their generosity and their patriotism. Will you not protect home labor against foreign? Will you not make your country independent of Europe for what is necessary to independence, and to comfort? Will you not be independent in fact, as well as in name? The brave son of the West answers, Yes! and shoulders any load to accomplish the object. But the time is come for him to see that his generous and patriotic feelings have been sported with—in fact, that he has been most magnificently humbugged and bamboozled—that, instead of providing for the independence of his dear country, he is only enriching still more inordinately those who are already a thousand times more prosperous than himself.

Manufactures are in no need of the enormous protection which the act of 1842 gives them: they need but little, and I am willing to give them far more than they need. I am ready to give them the protection resulting from the highest revenue duty, say 30 or 33½ per cent.—which, with the costs and charges, and the importing merchant's profit, is a protection of full 50 per cent. against the foreign rival. A difference of 50 per cent is half the battle! and the manufacturer who cannot stand his ground with that difference in his favor, has certainly mistaken his vocation.

But 50 per centum protection is not the only protection which our manufacturers would now enjoy: they now have the advantage of the same measure of values which is used in other countries, and which will enable them to sell in the same markets, and against all competitors. We now have gold and silver in the country, the true measure of all values —the only standard of all prices—the safe protector of all labor. Since the gold bill of 1834, and the silver bill of the same year, one hundred and twenty millions of gold and silver have been imported into the United States; and the importation still continues, and can be carried to any amount that we please. Twenty-four millions were imported last year, of which seventeen and a half millions were in gold. Since I have sat in this chair—that is to say, since the year 1820—one hundred and eighty millions of silver, and fifty millions of gold, making two hundred and thirty millions of hard money, have been imported into our country, of which one hundred and twenty millions, and forty millions of it gold, now remain. This gives a hard-money currency to the country, and that currency is the safe and steady protector of all labor. Manufactures now have the advantage of this currency, worth more to them alone than any tariff that ever was invented in extravagant paper-money times. Joined to incidental protection from revenue duties, and to other advantages resulting from position, from cheapness of provisions, light taxes, abundance of raw materials, free institutions, and above all, from future STABILITY, and it is impossible for them to do otherwise than well. I wish them to do well. I shall endeavor to make them do well: but cannot consent to sacrifice other great interests to their exclusive and inordinate prosperity.

Mr. President, I have thus far spoken for the whole Union. I must now say a word for the Great West—that vast region so fertile and so patriotic, and which now appears with twenty senators and near one hundred representatives on the floor of Congress. This great region is agricultural. It wants foreign trade. Its exports are tobacco, flour, grain, beef, pork, bacon, and other productions of the farm. We have seen how greatly the trade in all these articles flourished under the low duty system, and how sadly it has declined and sunk away under the system of high duties. If the good of the Union required this Great West to submit still longer to this decline of its trade, I undertake to say that patriotism and love of the Union would induce it to submit: but when the only object is to give undue advantage to a particular interest—to enrich inordinately one overgrown interest, at the expense of all others, and at the expense of the harmony of the Union besides—when this is the case, patriotism and reason forbid the sacrifice, and require a return to that system which favors its own interests, without being injurious to any other, and under which the whole American people, so far as the tariff was concerned, was a family of brothers.

Besides the articles just mentioned, the Great West has others, now becoming considerable—too large for home consumption—and greatly requiring the outlet of a foreign market. Hemp, the product of many western States, is one of these articles: it is already beginning to go to Europe. It has been shipped from New York and New Orleans, and sold in Liverpool at a saving price. Lead is another of these articles. It is the product of two large States, and of two Territories, which are soon to become large States, and is inexhaustible in quantity. In the times of reckless banking and inflated paper currency, a tariff of protection was demanded for the home consumption of this article—as if any tariff could protect individual or national labor from the depredations of a paper money currency! Since gold and silver have become the currency of the miners, these same people export lead to Europe and

to China; and the novel export is increasing with a rapidity unknown in the history of any article. In 1839, the quantity exported was 81,377 pounds: in 1840, it was 682,620: in 1841, it was 2,177,000 pounds: in 1842, it was 14,552,357: and, in the first three quarters of 1843, which is as late as the accounts have been made up, it was no less than 15,000,000 of pounds. This is an immense item to be added to western exports. Joined to the exportation of hemp, and it gives to the Great West a great additional interest in the success of foreign trade.

Turning to myself, and to my own conduct in relation to the tariff, I can say that I voted for the act of 1824, cordially; for that of 1828, reluctatly; that of 1832, with more satisfaction, because it reduced duties on many necessaries, especially on coarse woollens, and coarse blankets, which it brought down to five per cent.; that I voted against the compromise act because I thought the horizontal line wrong in principle, and for other reasons; voted against the act of 1842, because I really believed it not only bad, but the worst act that ever has been passed on the subject. Now I make a speech in favor of returning to the old revenue system before the war. In all this time my feelings on the subject have never changed. I am now, and always have been, in favor of manufacturing industry, as well as that of agriculture and commerce. I look upon each to be a great national interest, entitled to the support of the statesman. In their degrees of relative importance, I hold agriculture, which furnishes the means of subsistence to man and beast, to be the first; manufactures, which fashions the crude material for the use of man, I hold to be the second; and commerce, which exchanges the superfluities of nations, I hold to be third. But, while they have their relative degrees of importance, they are all great interests, auxiliaries to each other, and never to be brought into conflict. My feelings with respect to either of them is not changed; but twenty-four years' attention to the question of manufactures has increased my stock of knowledge upon that subject, and leaves me with the full conviction that the incidental protection which we contemplate, and the other aids mentioned, will be an ample support of that great and meritorious branch of the national industry. When the high-duty system began, all declared it was to be temporary—it was only to continue a few years, until manufactures took root. Now they are to be perpetual. When first introduced, they were resisted by the capitalists of Massachusetts. It required many years for the politicians to seduce them into the new system; but they did it at last, by the extravagant bounties which they offered; and now, with their enormous profits, it is not in human nature for them to be willing to relinquish the benefits they enjoy. With their twelve, and fifteen, and seventeen per cent of half yearly dividends, and a surplus reinvested, or laid by for division in the lump, they are unwilling, and very naturally, to return to twelve, or fifteen, or seventeen per cent per annum.

Let there be no panics—no alarms. The high tariff candidates for the presidency and the vice presidency were defeated in 1832: the bills then introduced in the House of Representatives showed that manufactures had nothing to fear from the issue of that election; that discrimination and incidental protection was the basis of democratic policy; and that every interest of the country would be duly sustained. The same now. The success of the democracy in 1844 will be auspicious to every interest, and as much so to manufactures as to any other.